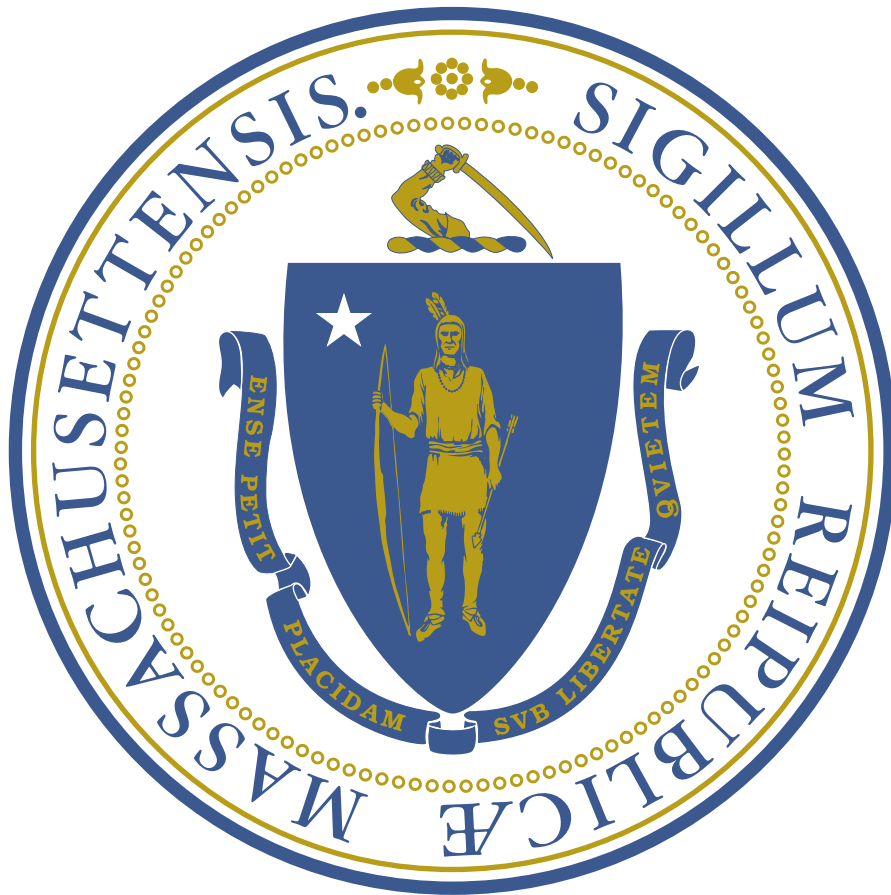


# *The Obligation to Endure*

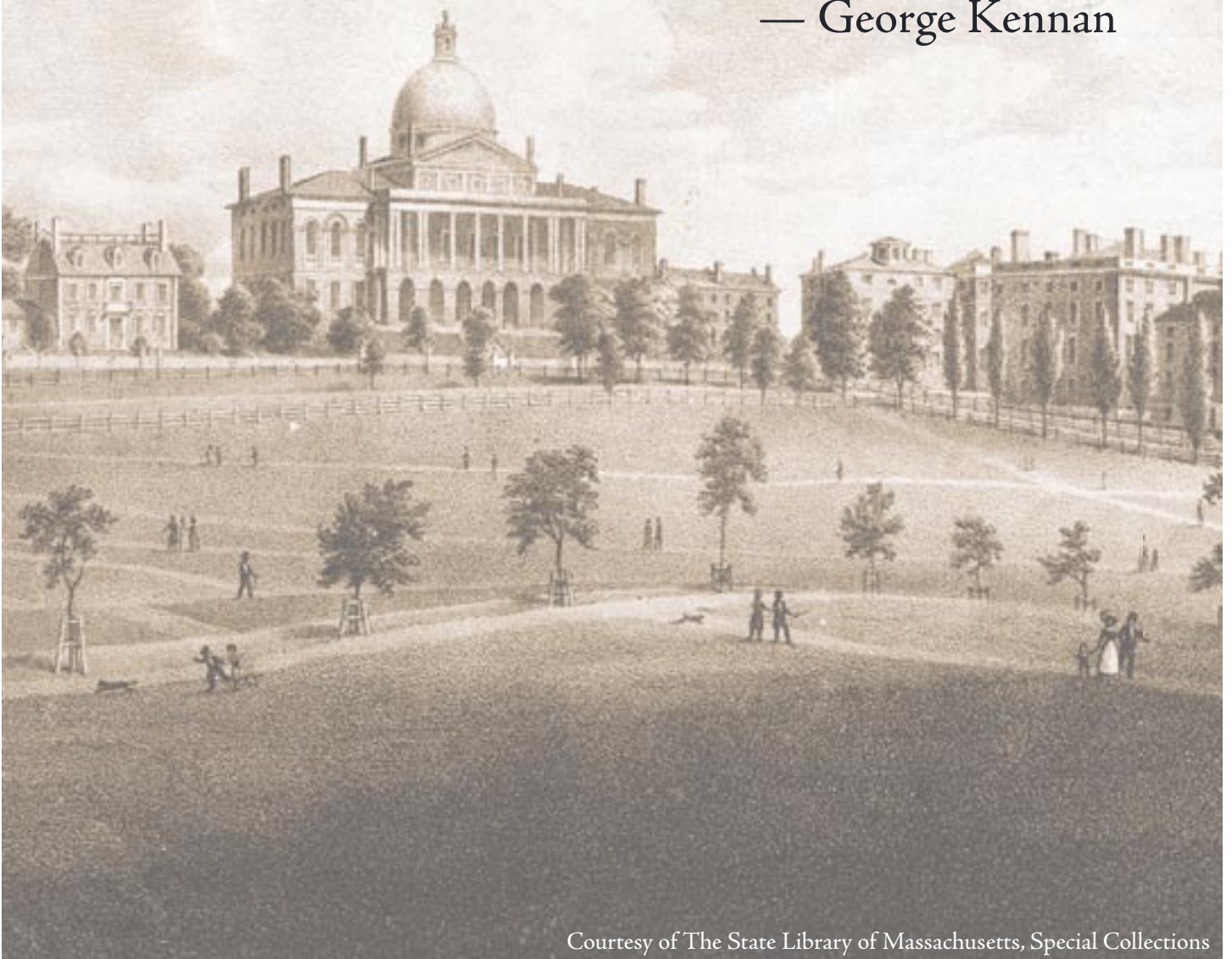


*Honoring Administration and Finance  
Secretaries Through the Years*



*Heroism...*  
*is endurance for*  
*one moment more.*

— George Kennan







THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

STATE HOUSE • BOSTON 02133

(617) 725-4000

MITT ROMNEY  
GOVERNOR

KERRY HEALEY  
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

July 2004

Dear Friends:

I am pleased to send warm greetings as you gather for the Secretaries of Administration and Finance reunion.

As Secretary, you have had the responsibility of making sure our government works efficiently – it is impossible to overstate the importance of this task. The vitality of our Commonwealth essentially rests on the shoulders of this Secretariat. Undaunted by the challenge, you put forth tireless efforts and put in countless hours to reach the best solutions for the people of Massachusetts.

You should be proud of your accomplishments, and I extend congratulations on a job well done. With ingenuity and hard work, you safeguarded and delivered the core missions of our government. You were entrusted with a great responsibility, and you never let us down. On behalf of the citizens of Massachusetts, I thank you for your service.

Sincerely,

  
Mitt Romney





*The Commonwealth of Massachusetts*  
*House of Representatives*  
*State House, Boston 02133-1008*

THOMAS M. FINNERAN  
SPEAKER

ROOM 356  
OFFICE PHONE  
722-2500

Greetings to the honorable Secretaries of Administration and Finance!

It is with great respect and admiration that I commend all of you for your public service in what I believe to be the most important and most difficult job in the Commonwealth. No other position in the entire state government brings with it the combination of fiduciary and programmatic responsibility which is inherent in this particular Cabinet secretary.

The job is exhausting and thankless. The buck truly stops at A&F, and, more often than not, that buck is spoken for and claimed by twenty different interest groups. Your stewardship of our state's purse is to be praised and remembered.

Well done!

Sincerely yours,

A large, stylized handwritten signature of Thomas M. Finneran, written in dark ink. The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large loop at the end.

THOMAS M. FINNERAN  
Speaker of the House





# Introduction



When the noted French scientist Jean Rostand said, “the obligation to endure gives us the right to know,” he was concerned about adverse environmental impacts. Taken in the context of government, however, his comment takes on added meaning.

Constitutional democracy, of which our Massachusetts example reigns as the oldest in the world, evolved out of British parliamentary experiments. The fact that we have persisted for 225

years does not guarantee the future of our civic life. Extinction, as every biology student knows, always lurks ahead. It is knowledge and a shared obligation that, one hopes, leads to long-run sustainability.

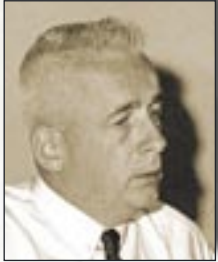
When John Adams wrote the Massachusetts constitution, he included a special section about the importance of an informed electorate that begins:

*Wisdom, and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties...*

The Executive Office for Administration and Finance (known by various other names in the past) has always played a central role in safeguarding our inherent “right to know.”

We now honor all living former secretaries who collectively represent an unbroken forty-year dedication to endurance, more than a sixth of our entire constitutional experience. ∞

# Administration and Finance Secretaries through the Years...



John McCarthy  
1965



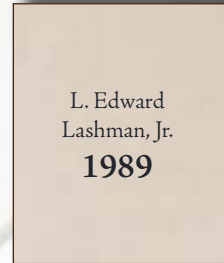
William I. Cowin  
1972



John R. Buckley  
1975



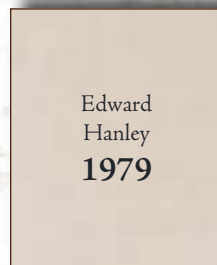
David M. Bartley  
1982



Donald Dwight  
1969



David M. Marchand  
1974



Frank T. Keefe  
1983



Peter Nessen  
1991



Mark E. Robinson  
1993



Frederick A. Laskey  
1998



Peter Forman  
2000



Ann Reale  
2002



Eric A. Kriss  
2003



Charles D. Baker  
1994



Andrew Natsios  
1999

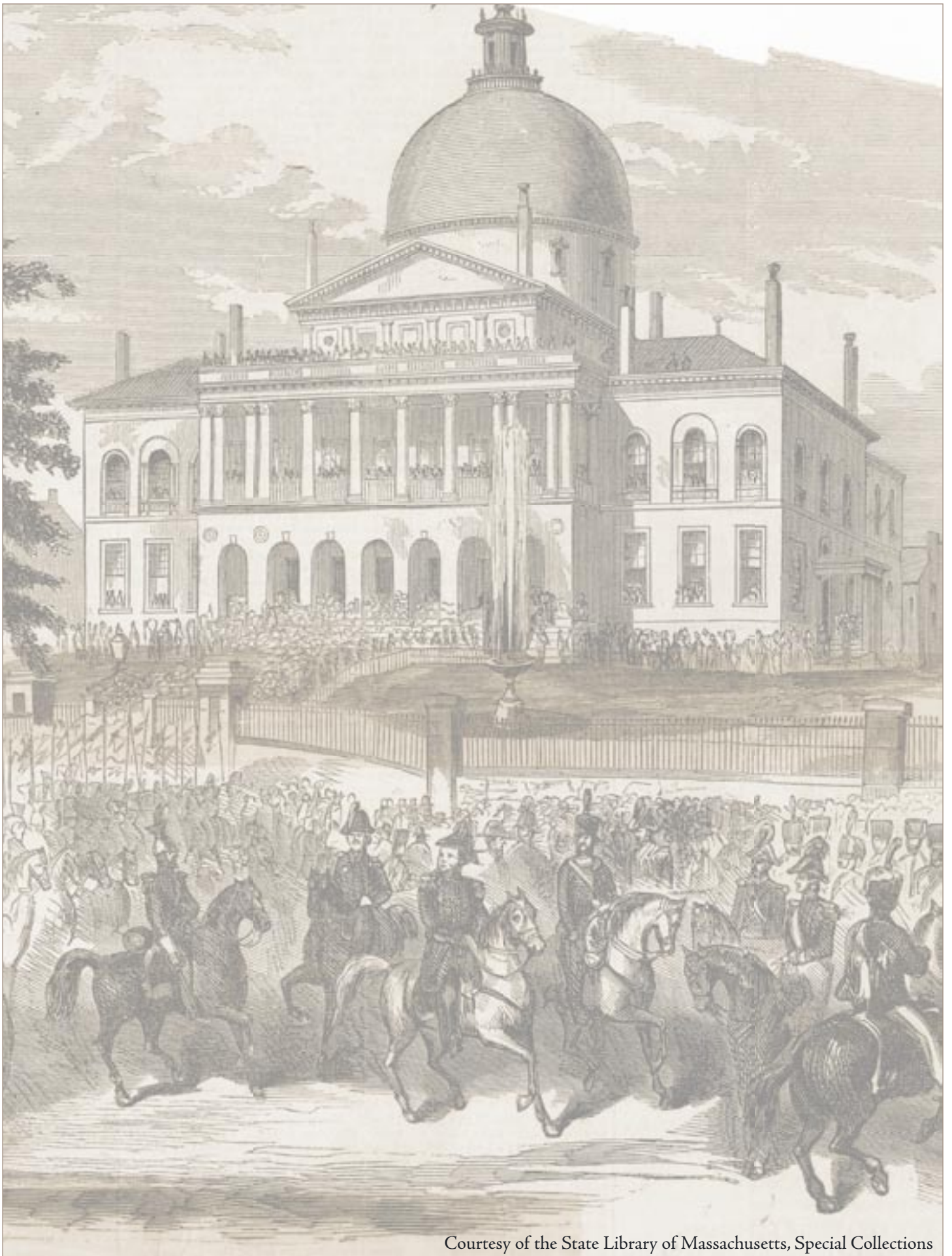


Stephen P. Crosby  
2000



Kevin Sullivan  
2002





Courtesy of the State Library of Massachusetts, Special Collections

# 1965

## John McCarthy



*Submitted by Barbara McCarthy  
Excerpts From the Boston Sunday Herald, April 1965*

John McCarthy served as Commissioner of Administration and Finance (1965-6) under a man he greatly admired, John A. Volpe.

John McCarthy's time in the State House was a baptism by fire for a businessman who thought the

state should be run like a business. He used the skills he had learned in industry and in the military to save the people of Massachusetts money by cutting waste while remaining non-partisan. He was unable to keep politics out of it (of course) and joked after he left state government that he managed to get everyone mad at him—Republicans and Democrats alike.

A few months after John took office, Jim Morse of the Boston Herald interviewed him for an article on all the innovations he was putting in place entitled, "Businessman in the State House." Morse reported, "McCarthy's business-like approach to running the complex operations of the state government is revolutionizing Beacon Hill."

In that article, John described how he came to join Governor Volpe's administration: "I was in Los Angeles conducting a seminar for the American Management Association, when I received a telephone call that Mr. Volpe wanted to talk with me. I'd never met Mr. Volpe, but he'd heard of me, and I, of course, had heard of him. Well, I flew to Boston the next day and conferred with Mr. Volpe in a hotel room. He finally told me about the job he wanted me to take. My high regard for

Mr. Volpe and the things he stands for convinced me to accept the appointment. He sold me in a hurry when he told me what he hoped to accomplish.”

John was completely dedicated to saving money for the taxpayers. The first question he asked upon taking office was, “How many employees does the State have?” When no one could tell him, he instituted what became the infamous “morning reports.” He threw himself into the job, usually arriving at his office at 5:30 in the morning and staying at his desk into the night.

In the Jim Morse article, John said: “There are some areas in which the Republicans and Democrats will never meet. However, one in which they should have no excuse not to meet is efficiency in government. They should be able to sit down around a table and say what’s right for the state.”

Although John worked hard, he was also a realist and didn’t expect to accomplish his goal of efficiency in government during the two years of Governor Volpe’s first term in office: “...I feel we can make tremendous strides in the right direction, and if we do, any succeeding administration would be out of its mind not to continue.” ∞

# 1969

## *Donald Dwight*



**A**s one of the senior living alumni in the exclusive Commissioner of Administration club, I feel a responsibility to my distinguished successors to report on how we got here. I was present at the creation of the Cabinet structure of state government.

State service began for me as an associate commissioner of the Department of Public Works in 1963. I was appointed by Governor Peabody as one of two Republicans on the five-person board, the other being Francis W.

Sargent, and ended, so I thought, when I returned to newspapering at the Holyoke Transcript-Telegram in 1966, having paid my public service dues.

Fast forward to the end of 1968 and the moment when Lt. Gov. Sargent was about to become Governor, succeeding John A. Volpe who was heading to Washington to be in Nixon's Cabinet. Reluctant at first, I was won over by the intriguing prospect of the total reorganization of the state's bureaucracy, as outlined by the architects, Bob Casselman and Bob Arden.

The Reorg, as it came to be known, was a bold attempt to impose a rational management structure on the 300-plus departments, agencies, commissions and boards of state government, of which 170 reported directly to the Governor. The proposed Reorg was to corral the agencies into 10 departments, each headed by a Cabinet Secretary.



The lure of the job was the chance to lead the administration's efforts to persuade the Legislature to enact the Reorg. Then, as now, the Legislature was about 80-20 Democratic, and the only chance this massive restructuring could pass was to minimize partisanship and make the case on the merits.

In January 1969, when the new Sargent Administration took office, the education began—for me and for the Legislature. The House and Senate leaders were new—Speaker Bartley and veteran Senate President Maurice A. Donahue, who had designs on Sargent's corner office. (Parenthetically, Bartley, Donahue and Dwight were all from Holyoke, so we were not strangers to each other. Not friends either, that came later.)

The vehicle for success was a bi-partisan study committee drawn from the Legislature and the Administration to hammer out the details of the legislation prior to consideration by House and Senate committees. Representatives and Senators were part of the committee, and I was chairman.

We held 21 endless meetings through the winter and spring of 1969, examining the legislation in exhaustive detail. The prevailing atmosphere was cooperative but hardly loving. Underlying the give-and-take was a sense that we had, after years of frustration and discouragement with the state's confusing overlapping and unaccountable bureaucracy, one chance, perhaps our only chance, to make a genuine difference.

When the committee deliberations concluded and the bill was ready for the legislative hearings, all parties had signed on (with varying degrees of enthusiasm). The lone overtly partisan change from the Administration's proposal was setting the Reorganization's effective date in April 1971, some 20 months away and, significantly, after the 1970 gubernatorial election. The change was driven by the legislators' reluctance to give credit for the Reorg and especially the appointment of 10 highly compensated (by state standards) Cabinet officers to a Republican Governor.

That change proved to be a huge blessing—there was no way that we could have been ready in the usual 90 days for the vast changes created by the restructuring.

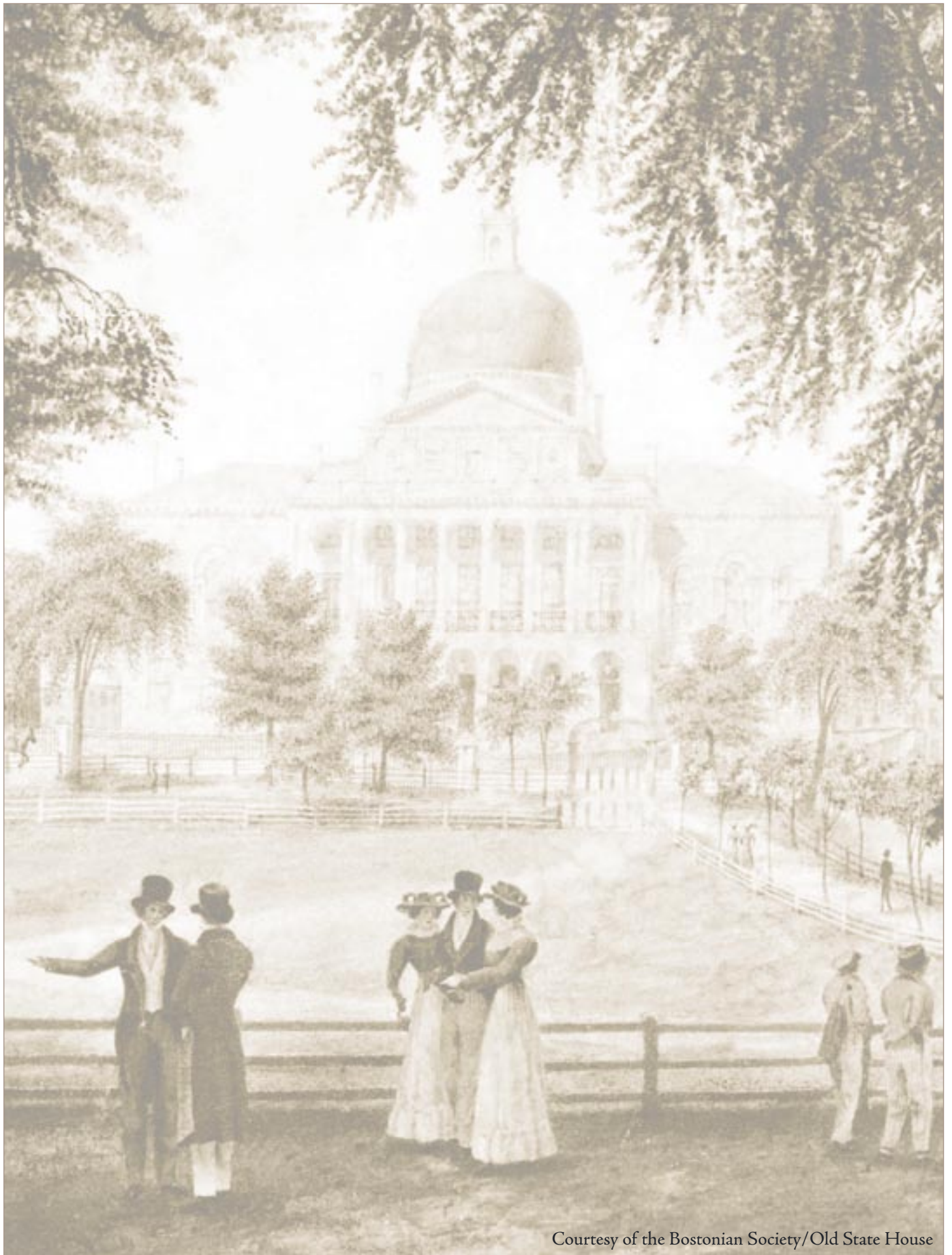
In August 1969, the bill was enacted, virtually without change. In November 1970, Frank Sargent was elected Governor in his own right, with Don Dwight as the first Lieutenant Governor elected on the combined Governor-Lieutenant Governor ticket.



My first assignment as Lieutenant Governor in January 1971 was to recruit the first ten Cabinet Secretaries from among hundreds of candidates. I am as proud of those appointments as of my role in the founding of the Cabinet.

Footnotes to history:

1. Speaker David Bartley, who has spent his entire career in public service, became Secretary of Administration for Governor Ed King.
2. Steve Crosby, whose first state job was with me in the Lieutenant Governor's office, became Secretary of Administration for Governor Cellucci.
3. Dave Marchand, who worked with me at A&F and in the Lieutenant Governor's office, became the last Secretary of Administration for Governor Sargent.
4. Richard Linden and Atty. Henry Weaver, who were with me at A&F, knew every nuance of the Reorg legislation and were priceless advisors.
5. I was Commissioner of Administration, not Secretary, just as all my successors are officially Commissioners of Administration. Rather than scrub the General Laws for the thousands of references to the Commissioner of Administration, we adopted the simple workaround of designating all references to Commissioner of Administration to mean Secretary of Administration.
6. And last, as much as I relished serving the people of Massachusetts as Lieutenant Governor, Commissioner of Administration was the most satisfying of all the positions I have held. ∞



Courtesy of the Bostonian Society/Old State House

# 1972

## William J. Cowin



**B**efore my appointment as Secretary of A&F, I had been a department head, and then a member of the Governor's Cabinet in another capacity. Consequently, I viewed the Administration and Finance Office as at best a nuisance, at worst a very real hindrance to efficient government functioning. My attitude moderated during my tenure as Secretary, although it never disappeared entirely.

I believed, and still do, that governments generally expend too much money, time, attention and energy administering, examining and reforming their own organizations, personnel and pro-

cedures, and that such resources would be better spent simply delivering the services that those governments are expected to provide. With that in mind, some of us thought that an effort should be made to relax and decentralize what were highly concentrated, and often quite rigid, administrative requirements. The cabinet reorganization of the Executive Branch had just been completed, with executive departments and agencies being grouped, principally by subject matter, in then ten executive offices. We thought this would provide an opportunity to do something new.

We tried first to modify the traditional method of budgeting and appropriation by filing in January, 1973 (for fiscal year 1974) a budget that assumed considerable Executive Branch reorganization, and that began to move, haltingly, toward a program budget format. The idea was to move away from the time-honored, but relatively uninformative, "input" budget that allotted specific amounts for people, equipment, travel, etc., and toward a budget that provided funds for identified objectives, permitting the program managers some leeway in how those funds should

be spent. The Legislature was not impressed and, while generally agreeing with our spending levels, rewrote the budget so that the ensuing appropriations act emerged in traditional form. We chose not to fight what seemed like an un-winnable battle the next year, contenting ourselves with a traditional budget format accompanied by a book (“The Budget in English”) that attempted to set forth our program objectives.

The act that created the Governor’s Cabinet called for filing of reorganization plans by each Secretary. In those plans, we sought to distribute to the other nine cabinet officers certain of the administrative and regulatory functions previously carried out by A&F. We theorized that at least some of the controls (e.g., approval of contracts, some personnel matters, requests for transfers between subsidiary accounts, etc.) would be implemented considerably more effectively by those actually in charge of the affected programs, rather than by means of the more remote A&F process. Again, the Legislature did not agree.

One learns fast in A&F. I came away thinking that there is considerable inefficiency, and some fraud (though not as much as the public thinks), in state government—not unlike the private sector. But neither inefficiency nor fraud accounts for the size of government spending. That is a direct product of a collection of policy choices regarding what state government should be doing. That is why cutting government spending is so difficult; and that is why public discourse so rarely focuses on the real questions involved. ∞



# 1974

## David M. Marchand



The signal date relative to my tenure as Secretary occurred months after my departure from office. It was March 20, 1975 when the Supreme Judicial Court rendered its decision in 364 Mass. 154, a case in which I was the plaintiff. The defendant Attorney General won a resounding victory.

In a related action earlier, the would-be sellers of certain lands to the Board of Trustees of State Colleges sued to enforce their purchase and sale agreement that the Sargent administration deemed invalid because conditions of the relevant appropriation had not been met.

The Attorney General represented the Secretary in that trial which resulted in an adverse decision. I conveyed the Governor's request that this decision be appealed. There followed two oral requests and a third in writing urging that the Attorney General seek appellate review to reverse a decision that might become a precedent undermining the executive branch's regulatory authority.

On the final day of the appeal period, the Governor's Chief Legal Counsel again conveyed the request to the Attorney General's office that he represent the Secretary or appoint a special assistant attorney general to pursue the appeal. Subsequently that day, the Attorney General wrote to the Secretary declining both requests.

On December 5, 1974, at the hearing before the Supreme Judicial Court, I was represented by William G. Young, then Chief Legal Counsel to the Governor (now Chief Judge of the U.S.

District Court for the District of Massachusetts), while Robert H. Quinn, then Attorney General of the Commonwealth, appeared for himself. Rejecting our contention that, as in the traditional attorney-client relationship, the decision to appeal was the client's, the Court held "...that the Attorney General as 'chief law officer of the Commonwealth'... has control over the conduct of litigation involving the Commonwealth, and this includes the power to make a policy decision not to prosecute the Secretary's appeal in this case." Lest that statement be insufficiently clear, the Court added "...we hold that the Attorney General may refuse to prosecute and appeal where, in his judgment, an appeal would not further the interests of the Commonwealth and the public he represents."

One other section of the decision was less noted at the time but may be of greater topical interest. The Court noted "[b]efore reaching the merits, we dispose of the preliminary question whether the Secretary can properly appear before us represented by counsel other than the Attorney General or his designee." Citing another state's Supreme Court decision, our Court said, "...we hold the Governor's legal counsel properly represented the Secretary..." but emphasized "...that this narrow exception appears only where the powers of the Attorney General's office themselves are in question, and not in the ordinary case of disagreement between agency and the Attorney General."

In sum, a legal action initiated to curb a putatively renegade state agency ultimately served to provide a judicial *imprimatur* for a nearly omnipotent "chief law officer of the Commonwealth." ∞

# 1975

## John R. Buckley



Administration and Finance in January 1975 was, to be kind, in a state of some financial disarray.

Revenue was dropping because of the 1974/75 recession but more troubling was the lack of definitive numbers relative to the fiscal 1975 budget

(ending June 30, 1975) and the utter lack of preparation for the fiscal 1976 budget.

Weeks went by before any hard and real numbers became available for either fiscal 1975 or fiscal 1976.

Finally, A&F was able to get its arms around the fiscal 1975 problem and came to the conclusion, even after making cuts and withholding other authorized spending, that the General Fund deficit totaling \$530 million (in a budget of some \$3.750 billion) could not be overcome by June 30, 1975.

With the Legislature's help, the fiscal year 1975 budget deficit was laid to rest in May 1975 by issuing a first of its kind bond which was paid over five years through dedicated tax revenue.

On July 1, 1975 the Commonwealth sold \$450 million of General Obligation Bonds supported by a \$.05 increase in the cigarette tax, \$.025 increase in the gasoline tax and a 20% increase in the excise tax on alcohol.

Shortly thereafter, the other shoe dropped with a thud, fiscal 1976. Only a budget in outline form had been filed in January 1975 since no preparatory documentation had been prepared. In

June of 1975 a budget gap of \$687 million existed, and in July of 1975 a budget was filed by the Governor for a fiscal year (1976) that had already begun.

In November of 1975 a budget was enacted with a combination of cuts and taxes that produced a budget with a balanced General and Highway Fund less in total appropriations than the prior year (\$3.55 billion).

It would appear that I might have the dubious distinction of having prepared (subsequently enacted) two separate tax programs within one calendar year.

Concurrent with the above, Administration and Finance embarked upon the brand new task of securing collective bargaining agreements with state employees. A formidable task since we had little or no money, were new at the task, and the union leaders wanted to prove to their members their ability to extract from the Commonwealth fair and equitable (costly) contracts. Needless to say, events did not go smoothly, and the Commonwealth endured a strike by state employees.

All of the preceding unfolded under the watchful eyes of a newly invigorated press corps (immediately post Watergate) looking for a Massachusetts Watergate.

There is only one place to be in the executive branch—Secretary of Administration and Finance. ∞



# 1979

## Edward Hanley

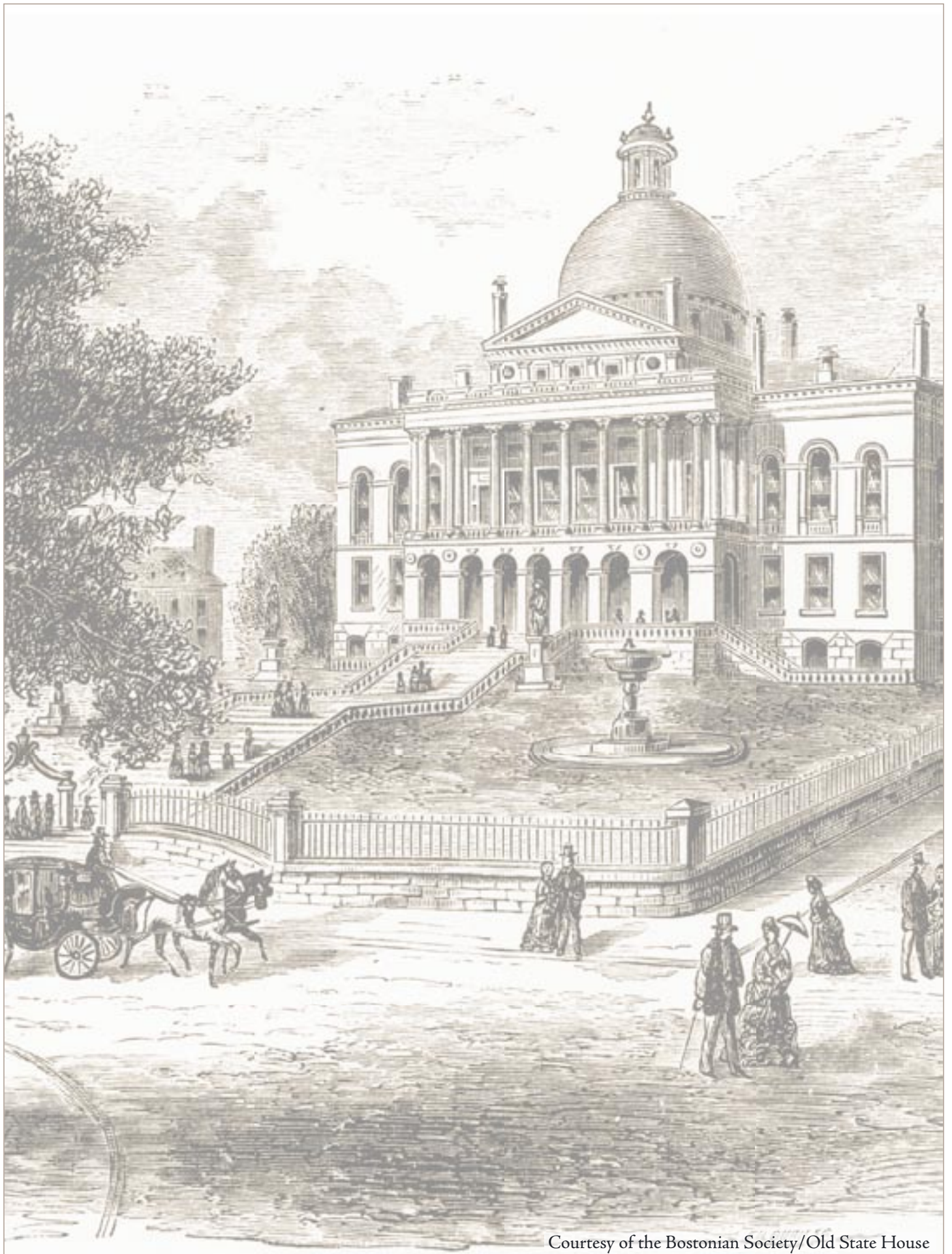
*Submitted by Theresa Hanley*

The Executive Office for Administration and Finance is the cornerstone of Massachusetts State Government, and its able and competent administration is a solid basis for a successful administration. For me it was both a tremendous privilege and a once in a lifetime opportunity to face huge challenges in a political setting.

November of 1978 found the Commonwealth's voters decisively approving Proposition 2½, a measure that limited taxation on homeowners' property. This was a voters' mandate, it was unique and unproven, and to implement it appropriately was a Herculean task. Local aid, along with property tax revenues, was (and still is) the mainstay of municipal government, but, now being limited in taxing property by the voter mandate, it became the focal point. Extreme need and corresponding pressure were cited and exercised to increase local aid funding to offset the shortfall from property taxes.

Fortunately, our results were quite noteworthy. The property tax levy for all cities and towns in the state went down for the first time in Commonwealth history. In addition, other taxes were lowered, and none of the predicted calamities of huge layoffs and loss of essential services or other disasters occurred.

To accomplish this huge task, it was vital to have competent staff, a supporting public and a willing, thoughtful, experienced and cooperative legislature. We had all of these, and to each and all involved in this effort, I remain and will always be grateful. Indeed, the opportunity to have served as the Secretary of Administration and Finance is a cherished memory. ∞



Courtesy of the Bostonian Society/Old State House

# 1982

## David M. Bartley



**I**n 1981, Governor Edward King asked that I serve as Secretary of Administration and Finance for the last year of his time as Governor. I said yes and began my experience in one of the most demanding and difficult jobs in state government.

I was no naive rookie when I entered the building as Secretary of Administration and Finance in 1982. I had

served in the Legislature from 1963-1975, and I had been President of Holyoke Community College for six years. I had almost 18 years of government service, but the Administration and Finance job has many complexities from working with the Legislative leadership, to talking to the bond houses in New York City, to watching and understanding the spending of every state agency.

I loved the job because I had an opportunity to work on a daily basis with Governor Edward King, an able, articulate and sincere man who only wanted to do a good job for the Commonwealth. Each day I worked with Governor King and came to admire his strength, integrity, honesty and ability. In my judgment, he truly was one of the best Governors the Commonwealth had in the 20th century. Governor King worked 24/7/365. His sense of grace and style under enormous pressure made all of us try even harder to be sure that we served him and the Commonwealth.

I am a lucky guy. There are four great jobs at the State House: Governor, Senate President, Speaker and Secretary of Administration and Finance. I had the privilege of holding two of those jobs—one because of Edward King and the other, Speaker of the House, because of my predecessor, The Honorable Robert H. Quinn.

Everybody in politics has a number of fathers: the real one—your birth father—and, in my case, two political Godfathers. I admire and respect both of them—Governor Edward King and former Speaker and Attorney General, Robert H. Quinn.

The major issues in 1982 were limited resources and overwhelming requests for financial support for continuing state needs, such as education, transportation, housing, money for cities and towns, and, of course, a tax revenue base at the local, state and federal levels.

Close your eyes and fast-forward to 2004 and you will find that the same problems still exist. The only things that have changed are the higher numbers and the greater needs. Capital spending is a low priority across the spectrum of state government but will come home to devastate the state in the next few years.

The budget numbers have convinced me that we cannot reform our way out of our fiscal problems. Spending gimmicks just won't work. We need more revenues, and that reality needs to be part of the solution for Massachusetts in the very near future.

The “T” word (tax) is a no-no right now, but a consensus is developing amongst fiscal experts that there may not be another way out of our problems. ∞



# 1983

## Frank T. Keefe



Ahh! A&F. The best of times. The worst of times. December '82: all-night reading sessions to prepare for the coming challenges. Scrambling to put a first class team together. The swearing-in ceremonies. The first legislative hearing—more jocular jousting than preparing facts and figures. This is new: could I perform? After all, I followed Bartley. Budget crisis. REAP—revenue enforcement and protection. Cherry sheets out

in May and in March the following five years. Goal—beef up infrastructure spending, from a paltry \$250 million, only to cap it in 1988 at \$900 million as it got out of hand. Windfall revenues from '84 to '86. Tax cuts—including surtax repeal in two years with extra tax cuts to make it fair (declining exemptions replaced by major increases in the no-tax status). Creation of the first stabilization fund. The beginning of independent state's pension system, leading to AA+ credit rating. An investment strategy to promote the rebirth and prosperity of cities and town centers. The relocation of two jails. Renovation and expansion of the State House. A targeted Equal Education Opportunity program for cities and towns and a higher education capital budget program.

And then trouble loomed just as the boss started running for President. Manufacturing softened steadily. Revenues dampened. Yet, unemployment remained low—very low—3%, as I packed my bags to leave. Tough line to walk—"budget challenge, not a budget crisis." Try to keep the boat steady. Use the allotment power to realign spending with falling revenues, triggering a huge outcry and backlash from the constituencies, while the national candidate's opponents played the part of Chicken Little. Fee increases. Budget vetoes. Tension and turbulence. Roiling and restlessness.

Unrelenting. Summer '88—the twilight zone—the same people who talked of the “Last Days of Pompeii” were in my office daily looking for the release of specific line items. Strange. A total disconnect. Tax cuts reach full impact just as the economy and the revenue base were about to buckle and collapse in 1989.

But I was out—relief, if only for me.

This story of initiatives and managing up and down cycles came before me and continues after, though the tools for coping with them have been steadily improved.

A&F was the best job I ever had, with big issues to confront and great people across and outside government to work with. But it is a thankless job. My fellow secretaries will surely join in the sentiment. We had no constituency—just the Governor and that abstract entity, the Commonwealth. Our biggest challenge day to day was to celebrate and sometimes endure the complex inter-workings and psychological tangos with various legislative leaders and committees.

All of us who have had the privilege and honor of being A&F secretaries recognize the parallels and similarities of our service. We all stood on the shoulders of our predecessors. ∞

1989

## *L. Edward Lashman, Jr.*

**T**he two years I served as Secretary for Administration and Finance were probably the two most difficult years of my life, including my service during World War II.

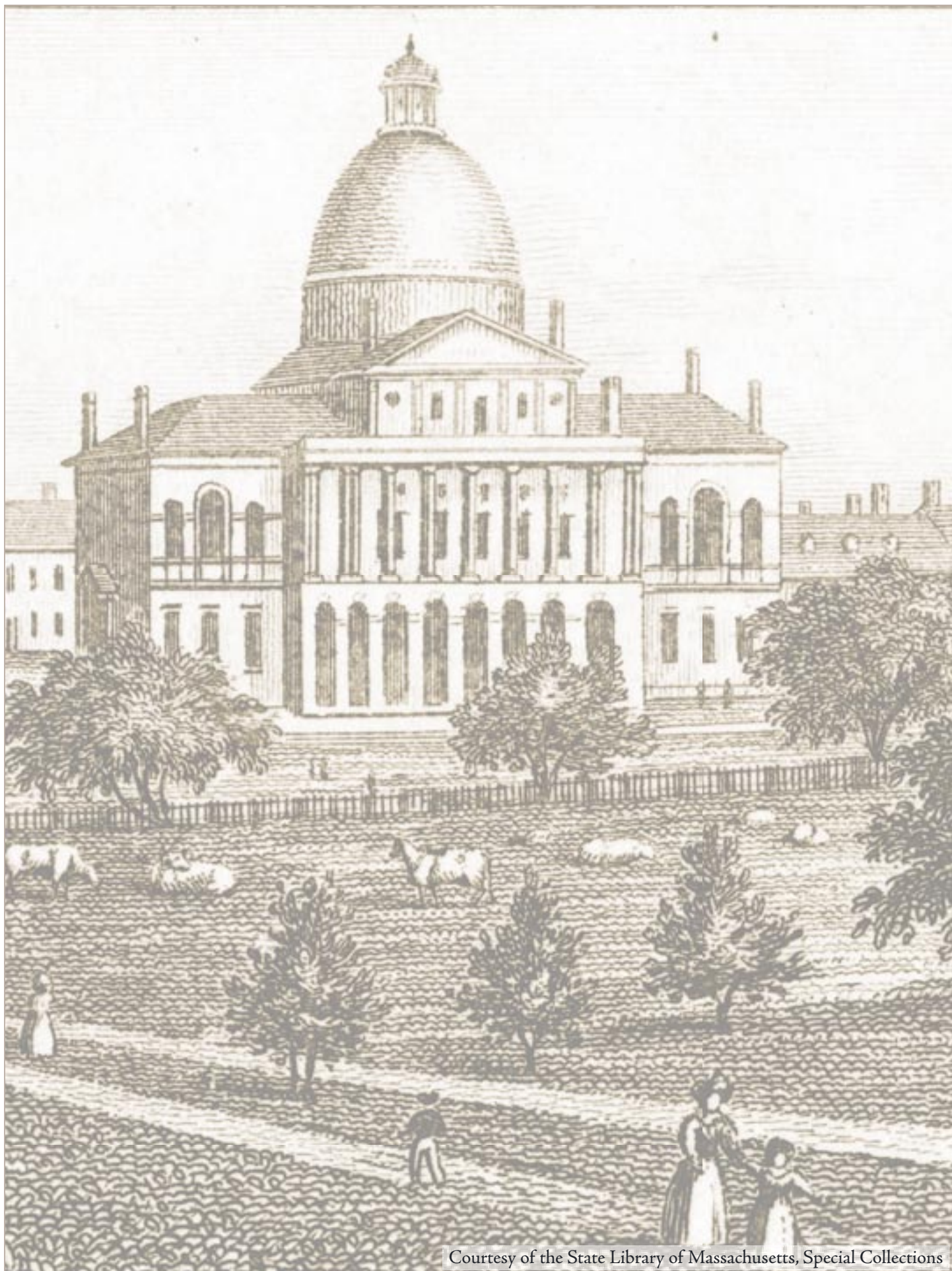
Those were the last two years of Governor Michael Dukakis's administration, after he had returned to a state full of people angry over his loss in the presidential race. I remember when he asked me to take on this assignment that my first reaction was to offer him the names of three other people he might choose instead.

Those were years when the economy of the Commonwealth tumbled from prosperity to adversity, almost over night. The projections on which those fiscal year budgets were built turned out to be worthless. Nearly every week produced a new short-fall in revenue and a need to make cuts in programs and personnel that ate into the most vital and necessary support for the most vulnerable of our citizens. For a salty fellow who thought he'd heard every term of opprobrium in street language, the conversations with my fellow cabinet members taught me a whole new vocabulary when we told them of their new constraints.

For anyone who thinks this cabinet position is one of significant power, let him reflect on the fact that external events can make that power evanescent.

Fortunately we had strong support both from Senate President Bulger and from House Speaker Keverian, as well as substantial help and valuable advice from Senate Ways and Means Chairman Patricia McGovern and House Ways & Means Chairman Richard Voke. With their help, we managed to keep the fiscal affairs in technical balance and somehow struggled through.

But I can assure you that the best moment of those two years was walking down the steps of the State House at the end of my term and wishing my successor well. ∞



Courtesy of the State Library of Massachusetts, Special Collections



# 1991

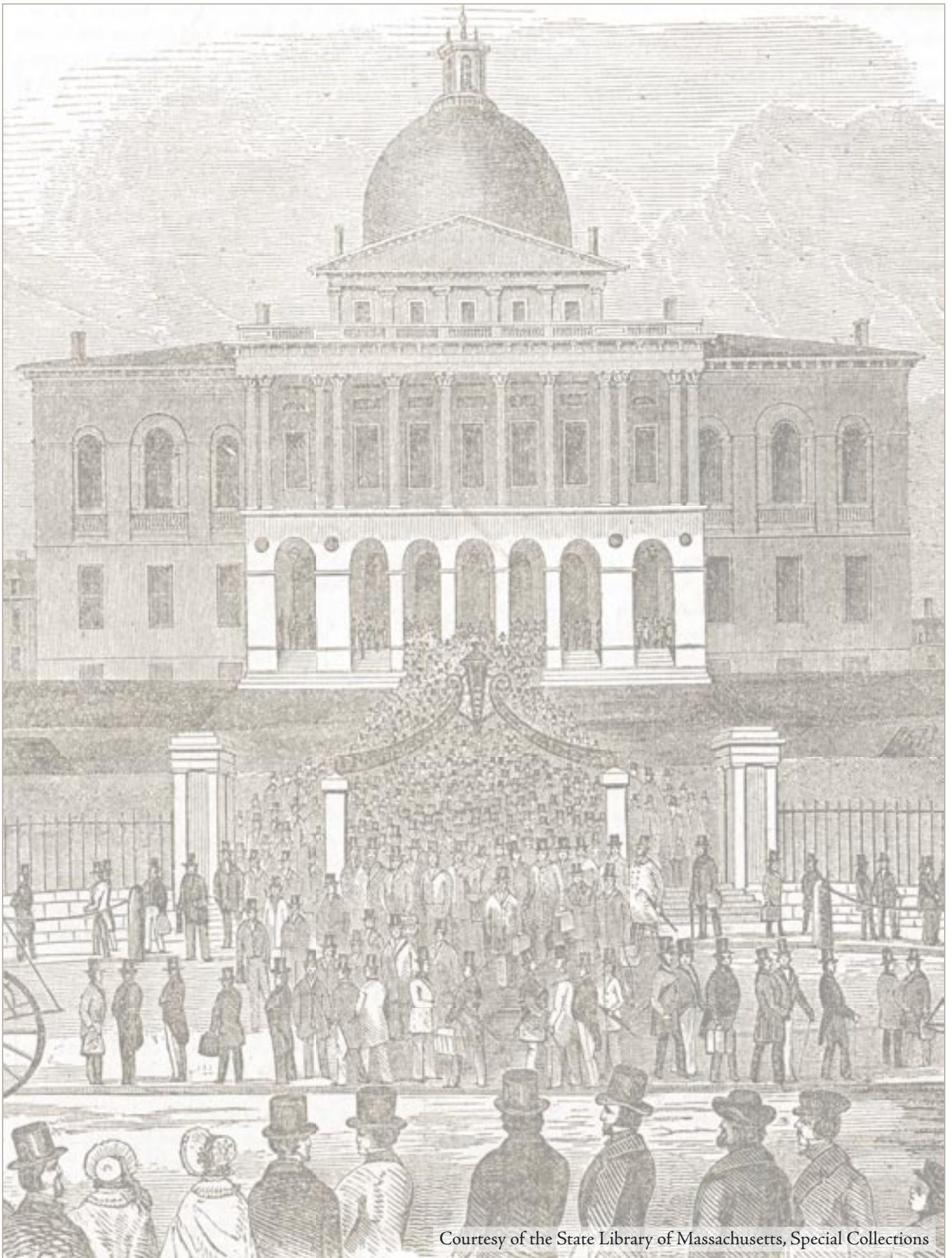
## Peter Nessen



I mostly remember the efforts of A&F bringing the first Weld budget into balance. Three issues made the effort all the harder. First, it was the first. This was our first full budget that had to be delivered in less than 60 days by a staff that had yet to prove itself and in many cases, did not know one another. Secondly, the budget deficiency was an historical high of \$1.8 billion. This was particularly difficult given the fact that no one believed the deficit was any more than a political ploy to make the outgoing administration look bad. When you really needed all the players to rally around the difficult issues that needed to be debated, the parties wanted to discuss who was to blame, and was the deficit anything more than a political game of who was telling the truth. Thirdly, as a new administration,

the executive table did not understand cause and effect. Having served in the prior administration, I had some understanding that to cut this program impacted another program that did not appear to be related to the cut. Here knowledge worked against the need to reduce the appropriation request. And lastly, as a Democrat in a Republican administration, when someone said that they wanted to capture the corner office, they were talking of the A&F office as opposed to the Governor's office. Then the "Gooney Bird" landed. The code name used by the administration for the potential Federal reimbursement for human services that had been delivered by the outgoing administration. A nest egg of \$800 million still leaving the need to cut \$1 billion. Nonetheless, the reimbursement narrowed the need to eliminate many programs that otherwise would have had to have been cut off from further appropriation.

As we wrestled with county reform, Chelsea, bond caps, privatization, civil service reform and veterans' preference—all firestorms for any A&F effort, none seemed as daunting as the first budget. The adage of the day was "This too shall pass." And it did. ∞



Courtesy of the State Library of Massachusetts, Special Collections

# 1993

## Mark E. Robinson



Charlie Baker tells a story (at my expense) that supposedly, after Peter Nessen announced that he was leaving the Weld Administration in 1992, I asked Charlie (who was then Secretary of HHS) whether he thought a *lawyer* (“like maybe Bob Cordy”) would be capable of taking over the job at A&F. Surprise, surprise, two weeks later I was sworn in as Secretary (one of the first, and probably last, former federal prosecutors ever to hold the position).

And, it wasn’t easy. Fiscal times were still grim when I moved into the office in 1993. Revenues were down every quarter, and we lived in fear of the monthly reports of anemic tax collections from DOR.

Our bond rating on Wall Street was still pinned down, and we were clawing our way back from junk bond status...slowly and painfully.

Veterans of government service always tell you that reform is easier to accomplish in a down economy than it is during boom times, because constituencies are more accepting of the need to adapt in order to survive. But I found that real change is never easy, even when times are tough.

Good times or bad, politicians running for office always promise to do things differently, but all too often, when they get into office, campaign visions and common sense reforms take a back seat to reality and compromise. Even the most logical and well meaning ideas can find themselves immobilized by the powerful entanglements that anchor the status quo.

**Flagmen:** Remember when Bill Weld had this idea during the campaign that taxpayers could



save on overtime expenses by replacing paid police details with flagmen on state highway repair projects? Using flagmen instead of cops made good sense to anyone who has driven past an idle police cruiser on overtime “guarding” a highway work crew while the radio news reported another shooting or robbery in some obviously under-patrolled part of town. Guess what happened when we followed-up on this campaign promise and drafted a budget that cut the Highway Department’s line item to eliminate the police overtime expenses? The opposition forces and their protectors in the legislature (both Republican and Democrat ) came out in force and the sole witness with the stones to testify in favor of reform (Jim Kerasiotis, who was no shrinking violet) shook like a leaf standing in front of an intimidating sea of blue uniforms only to run out of Gardner Auditorium and find that his tires had been mysteriously deflated while he was testifying. End of flagmen reform effort. Sounded good on the campaign trail. Zero legislative support.

**Tenure:** Teacher tenure was another perceived obstacle to reform in public education. Too many slug teachers were on the pay roll, and you couldn’t dynamite them off. If your son or daughter drew one of these burnouts as a teacher for some critical formative grade ... “too bad, better luck next year.” I recall that when we tried to redefine tenure through proposed legislation, ten thousand angry, sign-toting teachers marched on the State House shouting anti-Weld epithets. I remember the Governor looking out the window at the spectacle unfolding on the lawn outside and saying to me (with typical Weldian bemused detachment), “Robinson. Go down and see what they want ... I thought you had this teed up.” Too often, what the system wanted was not true reform. Instead, as every budget drafter well knows, the incumbents want more money poured into the same old system.

**Vouchers:** “Choice” was another trendy watchword of governmental reform back in the day. If we were going to require welfare mothers to work, we needed to give them vouchers for day care for their kids so they could drop off and pick up at convenient, privately run facilities of **their** choosing (not the state’s)—facilities with more sunlight, better toys, friendlier staff. But giving mothers portable vouchers meant that they might decide **not** to go to the state-run or funded facilities that had sprung up over the years and developed powerful institutional entanglements within the welfare agencies and the legislature. So when our budget proposal attempted to move money from state supported day care providers to choice-enhancing vouchers for mothers, the

result was a resounding victory of favored vendors over maternal choice. Same result for our so-called “performance-based budgeting” initiative which sought to measure state spending by real outcomes in the lives of citizens instead of simply line item dollars thrown at the problem.

**Privatization:** We tried to privatize a lot of state services that we believed could be delivered better and cheaper by the private sector. The plan was that this would help state agencies focus more effectively on the core functions of government instead of on running their own laundries for state hospital linens or food catering services in prisons, etc. But “Privatization: A Weld Scam” threatened the incumbent state employees and once again, (admittedly emboldened by a few of our own spectacular outsourcing scandals), the protectors of the status quo (on both sides of the aisle) struck back...and the Pacheco Bill outlawing privatization was born. Veto overridden. Weld’s inspiring inaugural call to reform: “Let us reinvent government in this cradle of Democracy!” was beginning to recede into the shadows of ambiguity, compromise and defeat.

**Diversity:** Ironically, the one area where I think we actually may have made some forward progress was in opening up greater opportunities for women and minority-owned businesses to get state work. This emphasis on affirmative action type programs may seem counter intuitive for a supposedly conservative Republican administration, but it became sort of a righteous cause for me during my tenure.

The opportunity for change lay in the fact that the barriers to entry for the minority firms were largely the white male dominated labor unions and the incumbent (mostly majority-owned) firms or service providers who had deep ties to the agencies which spent the money and to the legislature which appropriated it. It is one of the eternal laws of Massachusetts politics that Republican administrations (like ours) owed no allegiances to any of these typically Democratic constituencies, so it was easier for us to tip over milk buckets and stir the pot in favor of giving those who usually had no voice a rare seat at the table. What this means is that unlike some of my predecessors, I didn’t care much what the unions thought of me or my boss. They were going to endorse Mark Roosevelt or some other Democrat no matter what we did. That freedom was empowering because if we wanted to be critical of the unions’ historical failure to recruit more women and minorities into their organizations, we could say so bluntly without harm to some key constituency supporting the Governor.



And so, we instituted a requirement (which was roundly criticized by both the unions and the business establishment) that no state agency could issue an RFP that did not make an extraordinary effort (judged by zealots like me in A&F) to solicit minority participation. We rejected numerous RFPs just to send a message that we were determined to put some state procurement money back into the pockets of the disadvantaged. For the first time, RFPs for state contracts were published in Spanish, bond posting requirements that set the bar too high were lifted and what appeared to be unmetable, incumbent protection qualification requirements (such as “list all prior state contracts completed over \$10 million”) were eliminated. And for once, something worthwhile felt like it was working.

For example, when the cigarette tax passed and the state got a multi-hundred million dollar revenue windfall, the usual mega advertising firms applied for the privilege of designing a statewide anti-smoking ad campaign but, surprisingly, they had not researched the fact that the largest new smoker demographic was African American females between the ages of 10 and 24. Only when we brought minority ad firms to the table did the state figure out what magazines, radio and TV stations that target group read, listened to or watched so we could focus the state money most effectively.

For me, these once in a lifetime, David and Goliath efforts against powerful and entrenched interests were both engaging and rewarding.

Someday I'd like to pursue such worthwhile endeavors again. Older and wiser, hopefully, but still naïve enough to think that lasting change is occasionally within our grasp. ∞

# 1994

## Charles D. Baker



### *Situation Analysis*

The Executive Office for Administration and Finance – “A&F” so-called – always reminded me a little bit of Park Station: all the trains come through, but none stay for very long. As the one of the key stops through which operating budgets, capital requests and outlays, personnel decisions, real estate moves, IT decisions and other major initiatives have to travel before being pursued or rejected by the Executive Branch, A&F is, in some ways, the operational and financial hub of state government.

Which did not, by the way, make it the hub of state government. Policy wars and political battles – which generally defined the work of the office – were mostly fought by the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, their senior aides, Cabinet Secretaries, media team and legislative allies. A&F was supposed to offer data, analysis, and an occasional – and usually unpopular – opinion, but I have a long list of situations and circumstances in which my views were tolerated, but rarely pursued.

What I’ve never known is whether or not the decision to ignore my points of view on these issues was simply my general ineptitude in these kinds of matters, or standard operating procedure for the office. After a while, I was afraid to ask.

### *Options*

The way I generally carved up an issue was through a one or two-page memo to file. This gave

me a chance to figure out what I really thought about something, and also gave me a way to communicate it to the other members of the Governor's Office without having to create an "official document." Nobody ever knew who got these memos, or how broadly they were distributed. And since they were from me and to me, it was pretty hard for someone to accuse me of either keeping someone out of the loop, or distributing a point of view to parties who didn't need to or shouldn't have needed to know what I was talking about.

The other good thing about a memo to file – if people hated it, you could always call it a draft – that it would be subject to later revision. This was important, because the A&F Secretary was often thought of as the guy who goes around the party just as it's really getting good and starts taking away everybody's drinks. He's always worrying about the cost of everything, the factors we haven't considered, the risks we may run and the challenges we will be leaving behind for our children. In short, he's kind of a pain in the neck.

And by the way, as far as I can tell, it's always been a "he." I tried very hard to get one of my deputies, who is a woman, to take the job when I left A&F. I told her she could be a change agent and trend setter. Like a lot of my colleagues, she thought I was nuts.

### *Conclusion*

Being Secretary for Administration and Finance was simply the greatest job I've ever had. It gave a nerd like me, who likes the collision between policy development, budgets, and operations and administration the ultimate opportunity to be part of all four at once – on a grand scale. Add in the fact that I was working with some great people across the Executive and Legislative Branches – and had two bosses in Bill Weld and Paul Cellucci who really trusted me and gave me a lot of rope to run with – and it was all simply amazing.

I was thrilled by the job – virtually every single day. I'll be very surprised if that ever happens again. ∞

# 1998

## *Frederick A. Laskey*



I was appointed Secretary of Administration and Finance by Acting Governor Argeo Paul Cellucci on September 1, 1998. Governor Cellucci administered the oath of office in the Governor's Council Chamber with a large number of my family and friends in attendance. My colleagues from the Department of Revenue, where

I had served as Senior Deputy Commissioner since 1994, organized a wonderful reception for me in the Hall of Flags following my swearing in.

My appointment came in the heat of the gubernatorial election in which Acting Governor Cellucci faced a tough and acrimonious race with the Democratic challenger, Attorney General Scott Harshbarger. Former State Senator Jane Swift was the Republican candidate for Lt. Governor and State Senator Warren Tolman was the Democrats' choice for Lt. Governor.

The raucous election season created the "fire drill of the day" syndrome within the secretariat, as staff was asked to gather facts in response to the campaign and press issues of the moment. Despite the roller coaster ride and uncertainty as the election approached, the staff in A&F kept a steady hand on the ongoing operation and oversight of state government. Fortunately for me, Secretary Baker and the Commonwealth's Budget Director, Thomas Graf, had assembled a top-notch staff of professionals who stayed focused on the mission at hand.

The major matters that bubbled up to A&F during my tenure were indicative of the wide range of issues that came through this important secretariat. Some involved strategic planning and

management of major initiatives, like the coordination and management of the Commonwealth's Y2K computer plan as we prepared for the approaching new century.

A&F also served as an arbiter for disputes, big and small, and the competing interests of various corners of state governments. Whether it be to determine how the tax exempt financing was divvied up between housing, student loans or economic development or where an agency could or must lease office space, A&F often ended up in the hot seat. Perhaps the most contentious and important dispute involved the transportation agencies' attempt to increase their share of the state capital spending cap for transportation projects. The subplot involved Transportation's fierce resistance to A&F's efforts to establish fiscal controls and reporting requirements over transportation spending. This bitter dispute proved to be a precursor of things to come in the near future with the Central Artery Project.

Obviously, House 1 for fiscal year 2000 proved a challenge by the sheer magnitude of the work necessary to prepare a \$20 billion spending plan. The final product was similar to other recent budgets proposed by Republican Governors Weld and Cellucci with tax cuts, fiscal restraint, and government consolidations. A source of notoriety for FY00 House 1 was the cover, a beautiful watercolor of the State House by well-known artist Paul Shea, which was in sharp contrast to the traditionally dull and drab covers of House 1 over the years.

In closing, for fear of being charged with being self-serving in my current role at the Mass Water Resources Authority, I will resist offering future A&F secretaries the sound advice of maintaining the Commonwealth's critical infrastructure. Instead, I would suggest that future secretaries always keep in mind that there are many important services that state government provides, and that relatively small dollars can greatly improve the quality of life in the Commonwealth. For money that equals rounding mistakes to the right of the decimal point in major accounts, pools and beaches can be opened on time, crosswalks painted, ball fields mowed, and streets swept, with little impact on the overall bottom line. ∞



# 1999

## Andrew Natsios



Since being elected to the Massachusetts House in November of 1974, I have had eight jobs, most in the public sector. One of the most rewarding for me was at A&F, where I served from February 1999 to March 2000. A&F has historically provided a powerful platform to set the public policy agenda for the state; the tools to ensure new initiatives are

properly implemented through good public administration; and control over major management systems of the executive branch to ensure the Governor's policies are protected. I loved the job.

We proposed a series of reforms to Governor Cellucci, and A&F took the lead in researching, writing legislation, and managing the politics of approval and implementation. These reforms, all of which were eventually approved in whole or in part in 1999 or early 2000, included forward funding of the MBTA, reform of the state building statutes, rescinding of \$2 billion of authorized but unissued debt, reform of the public school building construction program, refinancing of the sewage and water system loan program to the cities and towns, creation of an internal think tank within A&F to provide research for administration policies, and improvement of the Commonwealth's credit rating. These reforms were designed to make systemic changes in how the Commonwealth spent money, reducing the upward pressure on the state budget.

A&F took the lead in refinancing the Big Dig, following the cost over-run scandal, raising \$2.7 billion in additional state revenues to complete the project. The Governor proposed a private housing initiative (for which A&F provided the research) to reduce homelessness, increase housing construction, and ease state regulatory impediments to construction. Last, but not least, we

undertook the historic restoration of the exterior of the State House, which required special legislation and contracting procedures to ensure that a highly qualified firm was chosen. On a very personal note, the State House restoration was for the Governor and me an accomplishment of singular importance, given the building's history and the time we spent there during our formative years. We wanted the State House to shine just as the Big Dig and Zakim Freedom Bridge were being completed. We knew that they could one day overtake the State House as the new symbols of the Commonwealth.

As the booming state economy drove massive unnatural increases in tax revenues, every interest group in the state, salivating over the largesse sitting in the treasury, pressed for more funding. If aggressive measures were not taken, the embedded costs of state government would rise as they did in the 1980s, causing a crisis when the economy and tax revenues returned to a more normal level. We established a strategy of rigidly controlling state spending, of limiting increases in the number of state employees, of moving excess revenues into the rainy day trust fund, and of reducing revenues through the Governor's income tax cut, which he put on the state ballot for 2000.

One of the central accomplishments of the Weld and Cellucci era was the \$22 billion investment in modernizing the state's crumbling public infrastructure: approximately 25% of the public schools were rebuilt; the sewerage and water system of greater Boston was reconstructed, and Boston Harbor and Charles River cleaned up with a new sewage treatment plants; 25% of the state road and bridge system was rebuilt; the Boston Convention Center was built, the 10<sup>th</sup> largest in the country; Logan Airport saw its largest reconstruction and expansion since its construction in the 1940s; and, of course, the Big Dig was put on its way to completion. ∞

# 2000

## Peter Forman



**M**y service as Deputy and Acting Secretary gave me the opportunity to work closely with two talented Secretaries with very different styles and priorities.

My first assignment was a reminder that what goes around comes around. As Deputy Secretary, I had to respond to a legislative mandate to implement an

idea on how the Executive Branch should operate. As a former legislator I was paying the price for the pleasure I once took in pushing similar mandated studies during the Dukakis years. They were similar to the mandate I was given; devise a practical, cost savings solution to some impractical mandate with broad, contradictory goals. And have an answer within 60 days. I hope to have my report completed by Labor Day.

I found very quickly that at A&F timing is everything. I was appointed Undersecretary just as the fight for information was heating up between A&F and the Turnpike over Big Dig cost projections. That fight led to Andrew Natsios leaving A&F and moving to the MTA. As Acting Secretary, I had the job of keeping A&F running, but Andrew had decided to take key senior staff to help with his transition. My staff meetings were brief only because there was almost no staff left in A&F. Thank you Andrew!

Although the state was seeing a surplus it was clear that the revenue tides were moving out. Changing the pension reserve funding schedule seemed like a practical way to find some current year savings. In an 18-month period I helped create three different funding schedules, each one

of which was to last three years. A review of A&F files showed that changing the funding schedule went back at least to Secretary Laskey. I trust the tradition has been preserved. I'm sure this practice predated Fred but it is hard to tell from the poor archiving of A&F records.

Steve Crosby and I had several discussions about improving the archiving system so future staffs could better understand the history behind A&F decisions. At the time, I thought this was a great project. Imagine the value in knowing why something had been done years earlier. When I recently tried to locate an old file I created in A&F, I was shown a room in the sub-basement with an eight-foot wall, six boxes deep of generally unmarked file boxes. I realized Steve never did solve the problem of archiving background papers, early policy drafts and internal reasoning for much of what comes out of A&F. That may be a hidden blessing for us all!

What never has to be archived for future Secretaries and staffs is the shared appreciation that A&F leaves its mark on almost every important policy and does so with a small group of some of the most dedicated people in public service. In many ways, serving in A&F was more satisfying and interesting than holding public office.

And just for the record, while I was Acting Secretary the budget stayed balanced and we had a surplus! ∞

# 2000

## *Stephen P. Crosby*



About 9:00 a.m. on September 11, as I sat in the Federal Reserve Bank conference room, Billy Bulger read aloud a note he had been given, that “a plane had hit the World Trade Center.” Hours later, in a deathly vacant and vulnerable State House, we cringed as we heard jets screaming overhead—until we realized they were U.S. F16s.

That catastrophe, coupled with a recession and a precipitous \$2B drop in tax receipts, thrust a young and inexperienced Governor, and all of us around her, into a nearly unfathomable challenge. But as is so peculiarly the norm in that strange business, optimism, humor, and esprit de corps made the work a pleasure.

My only shortcoming when I was asked by Governor Cellucci and Lt. Governor Swift to be Secretary of Administration and Finance was that I knew nothing about state administration and finance. And Baker and Natsios had nearly cleaned out the staff of institutional memory and experience. But with the gift of Undersecretary Peter Forman’s good will, a smart, tough, devoted, diverse staff provided me with the most rewarding professional experience of my life. And dissecting West Wing on Thursday mornings was kind of fun, too.

Did we have an impact? We did merge 160 web sites into a statewide enterprise portal; we protected kids, as Governor Swift promised we would; we even filed a budget with only a handful of outside sections! I think we—and our predecessor Republican Secretaries—established a balance between critical needs and sustainable spending growth that made this past recession vastly less destructive than that of the late 80s.



But mostly life goes on in the State House. The Legislature waits you out; the next team thinks you didn't know much; the press forgets you ever existed.

And we are left with the heady memories of an opportunity to be at the center of a small but important world, and the rare honor of doing work that really matters. ∞

# 2002

## *Ann Reale*



**T**hey say everyone has 15 minutes of fame. I had 15 days as Acting Secretary of Administration and Finance. Apparently that short period of time still qualifies me to be included in these venerable ranks, and for that I am honored. It also means I have more to say about working for A&F Secretaries than I do about actually being one. Over six years at A&F, in various capacities from budget analyst to State Budget Director to Undersecretary, I worked for seven—beginning with Charlie Baker, and up to and including Eric Kriss.

My own tenure was brief, but my timing was everything. A few days into my temporary status, on February 5, 2002, I officially certified the need for \$288 million in emergency 9c cuts. As every A&F Secretary knows, you can never predict what revenues will do. At the time we thought we were planning for the worst. We were even optimistic enough to call some of the reductions “set-asides,” promising to restore them if revenues rebounded in the coming months. Little did we know that this was just the first of several rounds of 9c actions, and the first indication of the worst state revenue crash in over fifty years.

Other than that, my two weeks were pretty uneventful. So to round this out, I thought it might be interesting to add some general reflections on A&F Secretaries.

First, they’re a fickle bunch. Some like outside sections, some don’t. Some think it’s OK to pay for operating out of capital, some don’t.

Second, they all believe anything is possible. And I’m not saying it isn’t, but, sometimes, it isn’t.

That never stops them from trying though, and it never stopped me from trying to help them. Even though the public sector is averse to large, dramatic change, A&F likes to propose it, and usually achieves some smaller, more acceptable shift in the end.

Third, they have different priorities, but with a common theme. Whether it's reg reform or an IT portal, renovating the State House or re-vamping the capital budget, welfare reform or workforce reform, every Secretary picks a few things to focus on, and tries to serve the Governor well not just by wrestling with the daily grind of the budget, but by leaving some lasting mark of improvement on state government. That's what made working for all of them such a privilege. ∞

# 2002

## Kevin Sullivan



**M**y appointment as Secretary of Administration and Finance by Governor Jane Swift was as ironic as it was unlikely. In the nine years I spent with MassHighway and the Executive Office of Transportation and Construction at the Transportation Building, my experience with A&F consisted of dreaded meetings “up the Hill” to discuss the need to consume ever larger portions of the Commonwealth’s bond cap. As Secretary of Transportation and Construction, my agencies were perceived as budgetary gluttons, particularly since so much of our budget fell outside the parameters of the annual appropriations process. So it was a great curiosity that the Governor selected me in February 2002 to become the gate-

keeper of not only the \$1.2B capital budget process but also the \$23B operating budget.

Since the Governor’s House 1 budget had already been submitted to the Legislature by my start date, I figured that I would spend the next several months cutting ribbons with Governor Swift and making announcements in support of her initiatives. I figured wrong. It turns out that the economic boom of the late 1990s consisted of many one-time revenues from capital gains and bonuses. Now we were seeing a lackluster stock market performance combined with the doubling of the unemployment rate. I was lucky enough to be the guy sitting in Room 373 of the State House when it became apparent that the Commonwealth was suffering the worst revenue decline in our history.

We worked closely and quickly with the House of Representatives, particularly Speaker Finneran and House Ways and Means Chairman John Rogers to constrict spending. The budget for FY03

was still in the legislative conference committee when it became apparent that it spent more than would be available under revised revenue projections. I worked with Katherine Craven, the Speaker's budget advisor, in the unusual step of putting together a summit outside of the State House to bring together Governor Swift, Speaker Finneran and Senate President Birmingham to agree how much of the budget would be cut by the Legislature or the Governor. Our actions were not enough.

In the fall, my budget director Tim Sullivan and I prepared several hundred million dollars in "9c" cuts for Governor Swift's review, slashing money to cities and towns, to public health agencies, and to Medicaid recipients. The impact of these cuts illustrated the direct and indirect importance of state tax policy, Medicaid rates, and the overall fiscal strength of the Commonwealth not only on individual lives and businesses, but also on the competitive economic position of the Commonwealth.

I learned that communication and accessibility are the keys to being an effective A&F secretary, and that good relations with at least one branch of the Legislature will achieve results. Building goodwill creates a reserve for those times when bad news has to be delivered. I witnessed firsthand the burdens borne by Governors in stressful times. The most important lesson I learned is that most people in the State House are good, dedicated people who really care and work hard to improve their constituents' lives.

I had the pleasure of working for three great leaders of the Commonwealth: Governor Weld, Governor Cellucci and Governor Swift and had a chance to interact with a great Speaker of the House, Tom Finneran. I thank Governor Swift for the opportunity to serve in what was the greatest job in which anybody could have the honor of serving. To me, it is what public service is all about. ∞



# The Commonwealth of Massachusetts



## A Proclamation

By His Excellency

GOVERNOR MITT ROMNEY

2004

- WHEREAS: The Executive Office for Administration and Finance plays a vital role in our shared obligation to endure as a constitutional democracy in the Commonwealth; and
- WHEREAS: Former Secretaries of Administration and Finance, who have passed the baton of obligation for over a sixth of our entire constitutional history, are gathered at the State House today; and
- WHEREAS: All citizens of the Commonwealth acknowledge the importance of our cherished constitutional democracy, and wish to recognize former Secretaries of Administration and Finance who served with steadfast dedication over the past forty years.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, MITT ROMNEY, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, do hereby proclaim the day of July 8, 2004, to be

### OBLIGATION TO ENDURE DAY IN MASSACHUSETTS

and urge all the citizens of the Commonwealth to take cognizance of this event and participate fittingly in its observance.

Given at the Executive Chamber in Boston, this eighth day of July in the year of our Lord two thousand and four, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the two hundred and twenty-eighth

By His Excellency the Governor

Handwritten signature of William F. Galvin in cursive.

WILLIAM F. GALVIN  
Secretary of the Commonwealth

Handwritten signature of Mitt Romney in cursive.

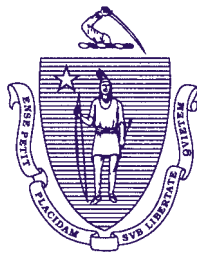
MITT ROMNEY



GOD SAVE THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS







*Published by:*

**William Francis Galvin**  
Secretary of the Commonwealth